

Ka Leo O Hawai'i *The Voice of Hawaii*

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U.S. businessmen oust Queen

On Saturday afternoon, Jan. 14, 1893 as news of Queen Liliuokalani's plans to proclaim a new Hawaiian constitution spread, an angry meeting was held in the downtown law office of William O. Smith.

The Committee of Safety, consisting of 13 members of the Annexation Club, was formed immediately to plan a course of action.

After lengthy discussion, a motion was presented by Lorrin A. Thurston. According to Lt. Lucien Young of the USS Boston, Thurston's motion "resolved that it is the sense of the committee that in view of the present unsatisfactory state of affairs, the proper course to pursue is to abolish the monarchy and apply for annexation to the United States."

A special subcommittee was then appointed to meet with U.S. Minister John L. Stevens "and to inform him of the situation and ascertain from him what, if any, protection or assistance could be afforded by the United States forces for the protection of life and property."

The subcommittee, led by Lorrin Thurston, went immediately to meet with Stevens and according to William O. Smith (Thurston's law partner), Stevens told Thurston "that the United States troops on board the Boston would be ready to land any moment to prevent the destruction of American life and property, and in regard to the matter of establishing a provisional government, they of course would recognize the existing government whatever it might be."

At a special meeting at Thurston's house later that night, several committee members and others, including Sanford B. Dole, associate justice of the Hawaiian Supreme Court, worked late into the night drafting the documents essential for an overthrow. As Dole was to write later, what helped inspire their revolutionary plans was

that "we knew that the United States minister was in sympathy with us."

Early the next morning, Sunday, Jan. 15, 1893, Thurston met with Hawaii Cabinet ministers Colburn and Peterson, and informed them that "the Committee of Safety are not content to let matters rest as they are."

The queen has announced her intention of promulgating the constitution when the opportunity presents itself, and they do not propose to sit over a volcano and wait for her to explode it when she chooses. We feel that there is no safety so long as she remains on the throne."

Later that morning the Committee of Safety met for three hours at the home of W.R. Castle. The organization of a provisional government was discussed along with the decision to hold a mass public rally the following afternoon.

After the meeting, Thurston and W.O. Smith met again with U.S. Minister Stevens and filled him in on their plans to establish a provisional government. Stevens gave assurances of personal safety and his "earnest purpose to afford all the protection that was in his power."

On Monday morning, Jan. 16, 1893, the Committee of Safety met for another three hours. Before noon, a letter to the American minister was drafted and signed, requesting the minister to land troops from the battleship USS Boston which was presently positioned in Honolulu Harbor.

"We, the under signed, citizens and residents of Honolulu, respectfully represent that, in view of recent public events in this kingdom, culminating in the revolutionary acts of Queen Liliuokalani on Saturday last, the public safety is menaced and lives and property are in peril, and we appeal to you and the United States forces at your command for assistance. We are unable to protect ourselves without aid,

and, therefore pray for the protection of the United States forces."

The letter was delivered to Stevens and that afternoon the mass rally was held, some 1,500 people attended, nearly all the "male white foreign element in the city." Speeches were fiery and emotions ran high. A resolution was adopted condemning the queen and denouncing her actions, and the Committee of Safety was given the power to act as it saw fit.

Half an hour after the rally, the Committee of Safety met again in W.O. Smith's office downtown. Thurston and Smith went "at once to Mr. Stevens' house, the U.S. delegation, stated the case to him and he (Stevens) said that as a precautionary measure, and to protect American life and property, he had ordered the troops to be landed at 5 o'clock, and that they would come."

At 5 o'clock Lt. Cmdr. Swinburne landed his heavily armed 162-man force from four boats near Nuuanu Avenue. They marched up Fort Street to Merchant Street then down King Street past the palace, stopping across from Kawaiahao Church. Before dark, the troops moved further down King Street to the spacious J.B. Atherton Estate.

By 10 o'clock Stevens had secured accommodations and the Marines marched back to Arion Hall, a small building next to the government building and across from the palace.

According to Adm. J.S. Skerrett, Stevens' positioning of the armed forces "was inadvisable to locate the troops there; if they were landed for the protection of the U.S. citizens ... if they were landed to support provisional government troops ... it was a wise choice."

At 8 o'clock that night, the Committee of Safety met at the home of Henry Waterhouse, next door to Minister Stevens.

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Bishop Museum

Queen Lydia Liliuokalani

U.S. policies lead to monarchy's end

• 1820 - Missionaries arrive to convert Hawaiians to Western ways, including Christianity. Sandalwood trade peaks.

• 1840 - Conversion has proceeded into the thousands. Missionaries begin to enter government. American school system established. Constitution of 1840. Legislature and Supreme Court created-push is on for land division to private property.

Hawaiian population is down to about 120,000. This is down from an estimated 800,000 to 1 million.

• 1842-43 - Tyler Doctrine - America asserts that Hawai'i is in the U.S. "sphere of influence" - European powers are not to interfere.

Contradictory position because asserts American desire for Hawaiian independence free from any special political or economic privilege by the United States at the same time claim Hawai'i is in the U.S. sphere of influence.

U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, receives Tyler's message, and writes: "Americans are urged to acknowledge their own interests in Hawaiian independence as a "virtual right of conquest" over the "mind and heart" of the Hawaiian people.

Secretary of State Legare says: "We might ... feel justified, consistent without own principles in interfering by force to prevent (Hawai'i) falling into the hands of one of the great powers of Europe."

• 1853 - New commissioner to Hawai'i, David Gregg. President Franklin Pierce declares: "the policy of my administration will not be controlled by any timid forebodings of evil from expansion." Nineteen merchants and planters memorialize king for annexation.

• 1853-54 - Sharp economic depression. Rise of antagonism to king. Kamehameha III tells Wyllie to open negotiations for annexation.

Kamehameha III cannot control foreign element. Believes annexation best. Anglo-French opposition. Pierce also interested in Cuba/Texas.

• 1854 - Treaty asks for annuity and annexation as a state. Kamehameha IV adamantly opposed to annexation - ascends in 1853.

Hawaiians opposed to this. Native press says United States has contempt for colored races. Hawai'i would suffer virtual enslavement under annexation. Loss of lands and liberties.

Liholiho agrees. Other, non-American foreigners also agree. Committee of 13 vacillates is between being for and against annexation but it is united against a native government.

• 1855 - Reciprocity proposed. Idea is, if no annexation as

See EVENTS, Page 4



Bishop Museum

Sixteen gangs of armed haole businessmen calling themselves the "Honolulu Rifles," were organized by the illegal Dole "Provisional Government" in 1893. This gang was under the command of Charles Montague Cook, second from the right.

President declares overthrow illegal

The following excerpts were taken from U.S. President Grover Cleveland's written address to the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives Dec. 18, 1893:

In my recent annual message to the Congress, I briefly referred to our relations with Hawaii and expressed the intention of transmitting further information on the subject when additional advices permitted.

Though now I am not able to report a definite change in the actual situation, I am convinced that the difficulties lately created both here and in Hawaii and now standing in the way of a solution, through executive action, of the problem presented, render it proper, and expedient, that the matter should be referred to the broader authority and discretion of Congress, with a full explanation of the endeavor thus far made to deal with the emergency, and a statement of the considerations which have governed my actions.

... When the present Administration entered upon its duties, the Senate had under consideration a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the territory of the United States. Surely under our Constitution and laws, the enlargement of our limits is a manifestation of the highest attribute of sovereignty, and if entered upon as an Executive act, all things relating to the transaction should be clear and free from suspicion.

Additional importance attached to this particular treaty of annexation, because it contemplated a departure from unbroken American tradition, in providing for the addition to our territory of islands of the sea, more than two thousand miles removed from our nearest coast.

On Saturday Jan. 14, 1893, the Queen of Hawaii, who had been contemplating the proclamation of a new constitution, had, in deference to the wishes and remonstrances of her cabinet, renounced the project for at least the present.

Taking this relinquished purpose as a basis of action, citizens of Honolulu numbering from fifty to one hundred, mostly resident aliens, met in a private office and selected a so-called Committee of Safety, composed of thirteen persons, seven of whom were foreign subjects, and consisted of five Americans, one Englishman and one German.

This committee, though its designs were not revealed, had in view nothing less than annexation to the United States, and between Saturday the 14th and the following Monday the 16th of January — though exactly what action was taken may not be clearly disclosed — they were certainly in communication with the United States Minister.

On Monday morning the Queen and her cabinet made public proclamation, with a notice which was specially served upon the representatives of all foreign governments, that "nay" changes in the constitution would be sought only in the methods provided by that instrument. Nevertheless, at the call and under the auspices of the Committee of Safety, a mass meeting of citizens was held on that day to protest against the Queen's alleged illegal and unlawful proceedings and purposes.

Even at this meeting the Committee of Safety continued to disguise their real purpose and contented themselves with procuring the passage of a

resolution, denouncing the Queen and empowering the committee to devise ways and means "to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order and the protection of life, liberty and property in Hawaii."

This meeting adjourned between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon. On the same day, and immediately after such adjournment, the committee, unwilling to take further steps without the cooperation of the U. S. Minister, addressed him a note representing that the public safety was menaced and that lives and property were in danger and concluded as follows:

"We are unable to protect ourselves without aid and therefore pray for the protection of the United States forces." Whatever may be thought of the other contents of this note, the absolute truth of this latter statement is incontestable.

When the note was written and delivered, the committee, so far as it appears, had neither a man nor a gun at their command, and after its delivery they became so panic-stricken at their position that they sent some of their number to interview the Minister and request him not to land the United States forces 'till the next morning.

But he replied that the troops had been ordered and whether the committee was ready or not, the landing should take place. And so it happened that on the 16th day of January between four and five o'clock in the afternoon a detachment of Marines from the United States steamer in Boston, with two pieces of artillery, landed at Honolulu.

Indeed, the fact that after having called for the landing of the United States forces on the plea of danger to life and property, the Committee of Safety themselves requested the Minister to postpone action, exposed the untruthfulness of their representation of present peril to life and property.

The peril they saw was an anticipation growing out of guilty intentions on their part and something which, though not then existing, they knew would certainly follow their attempt to overthrow the Government of the Queen without the aid of the United States forces.

Thus it appears that Hawaii was taken possession of by the United States forces without the consent or wish of the government of the islands, or of anybody else so far as shown, except the United States Minister.

Therefore the military occupation of Honolulu by the United States on the day mentioned was wholly without justification, either as an occupation by consent or as an occupation necessitated by dangers



President Grover Cleveland

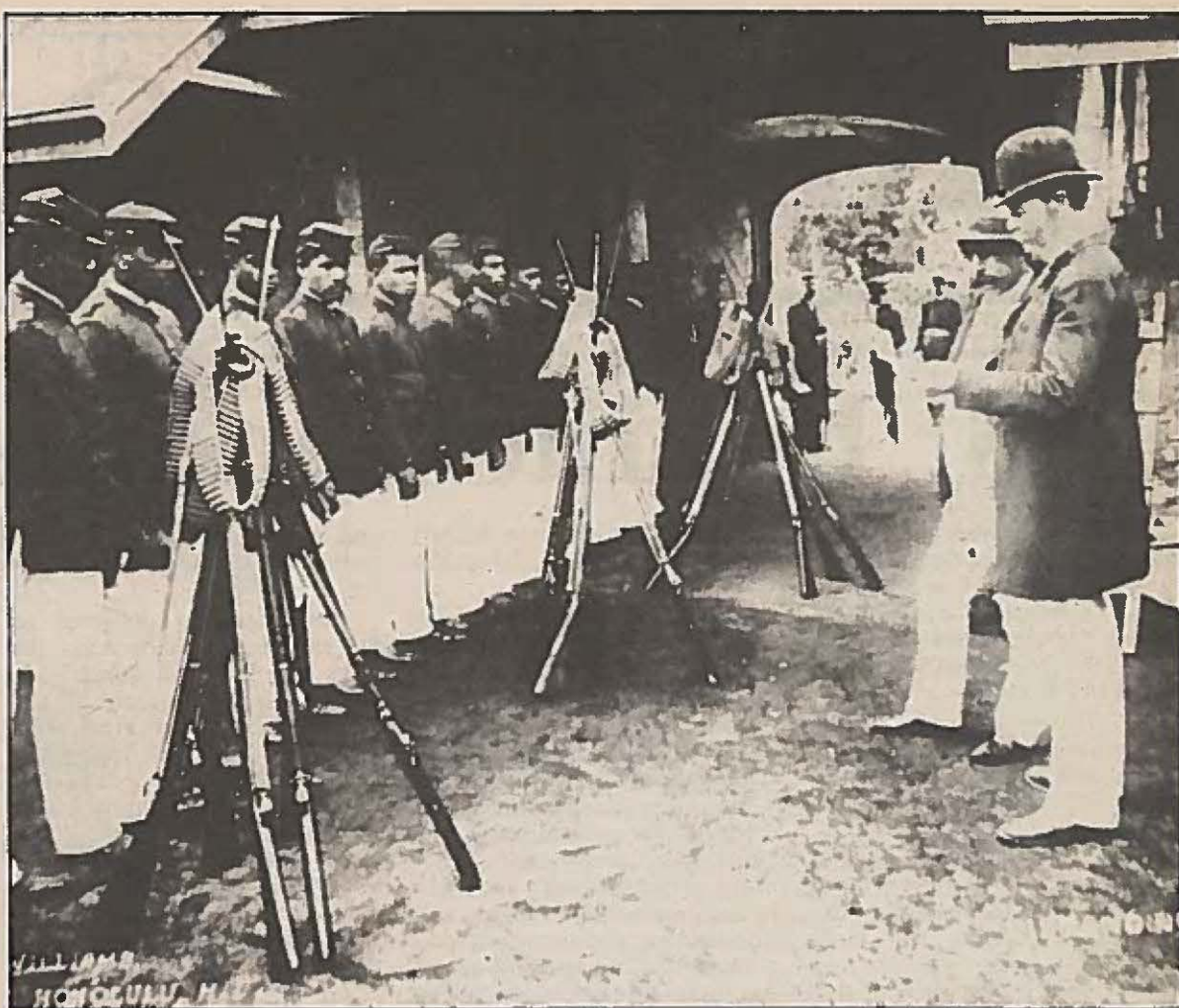


Photo courtesy of Bishop Museum

The forced disbanding of the Queen's Guard

The day after the overthrow, John Soper, newly elected commander of Dole's army, orders Queen Lili'uokalani's Guard to give up their rifles and ammunition and disband.

threatening American life and property.

It must be accounted for in some other way and on some other ground, and its real motive and purpose are neither obscure nor far to seek.

The United States forces being now on the scene and favorably stationed, the committee proceeded to carry out their original scheme.

They met the next morning, Tuesday the 17th, perfected the plan of temporary government and fixed upon its principal officers ten of whom were drawn from the 13 members of the Committee of Safety between 1 and 2 o'clock, by squads and by different routes to avoid notice, and having first taken the precaution of ascertaining whether there was any one there to oppose them, they proceeded to the Government building to proclaim the new government.

No sign of opposition was manifest, and thereupon an American citizen began to read the proclamation from the steps of the Government building almost entirely with auditors. It is said that before the reading was finished, quite a concourse of persons, variously estimated at from 50 to 100, some armed and some unarmed, gathered about the committee to give them aid and confidence.

This statement is not unimportant, since the one controlling factor in the whole affair was unquestionably the United States Marines, who, drawn up under arms and with artillery in readiness only seventy-six yards distant, dominated the situation.

... I believe that a candid and thorough examination of the facts will force the conviction that the provisional government owes its existence to an armed invasion by the United States.

Fair-minded people with the evidence before them will hardly claim that the Hawaiian Government was overthrown by the people of the islands or that the provisional government had ever existed with their consent.

I do not understand that any member of this government claims that the people would uphold it by their suffrages if they were allowed to vote on the question.

... As I apprehend the situation, we are brought face to face

with the following conditions: The lawful Government of Hawaii was overthrown without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot by a process every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives.

But for the notorious predilections of the United States Minister for annexation, the Committee of Safety, which should be called the Committee of Annexation, would never have existed.

But for the landing of the United States forces upon false pretenses, respecting the danger to life and property, the committee would never have exposed themselves to the pains and penalties of treason by undertaking the subversion of the Queen's Government.

And finally, but for the lawless occupation of Honolulu under false pretenses by the U.S. forces, and for Minister Stevens forces were its sole support and constituted its only military strength, the Queen and her government would never have yielded to the provisional government, even for a time and for the sole purpose of submitting her case to the enlightened justice of the United States.

Believing, therefore, that the United States could not, under the circumstances disclosed, annex the islands without justly incurring the imputation of acquiring them by unjustifiable methods, I shall not again submit the treaty of annexation to the Senate for its consideration and in the instructions to Minister Willis, a copy of which accompanies this message, I have directed him to so inform the provisional government.

But in the present instance our duty does not, in my opinion, end with refusing to consummate this questionable transaction.

It has been the boast of our Government that it seeks to do justice in all things without regard to the strength or weakness of those with whom it deals.

I mistake the American people if they favor the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality,

that there is one law for a strong nation and another for a weak one, and that even by indirection a strong power may with impunity despoil a weak one of its territory.

By an act of war committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress, the Government of a feeble, but friendly and confiding people has been overthrown.

A substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires we should endeavor to repair.

In short, they (the Provisional Government) require that the past should be buried and that the restored government should reassume its authority as if its continuity had not been interrupted.

These conditions have not proved acceptable to the Queen, and though she has been informed that they will be insisted upon, and that, unless acceded to, the efforts of the president to aid in the restoration of her government will cease, I have not thus far learned that she is willing to yield them her acquiescence.

The check which my plans have thus encountered has prevented their presentation to the members of the provisional government, while unfortunate public misrepresentations of the situation and exaggerated statements of the sentiments of our people have obviously injured the prospects of successful Executive mediation.

I therefore submit this communication with its accompanying exhibits, embracing James Blount's report, the evidence and statements taken by him at Honolulu, the instructions given to both Mr. Blount and Minister Willis, and correspondence connected with the affair in hand.

In commending this subject to the extended powers and wide discretion of the Congress, I desire to add the assurance that I shall be much gratified to cooperate in any legislative plan which may be devised for the solution of the problem before us which is consistent with American honor, integrity and morality.

Hawaiians lose nation to sugar

FROM PAGE 1

Sanford B. Dole was asked repeatedly to serve as president of the provisional but he still could not make up his mind to do so or not.

The next morning, Tuesday, Jan. 17, 1893, the day of the overthrow, Dole met with friends, including Thurston, seeking advice.

Then, according to Dole's own account: "At 10 o'clock I went downtown. I remembered a letter I had in my pocket which Thurston had given me that morning, addressed to Mr. Stevens, setting forth our intended movement, and proposing to ask his recognition. I went in and handed the letter to him. He did not say much but I remember that he said: 'I think you have a great opportunity.'"

Dole returned to W.O. Smith's office where another Committee of Safety meeting was in progress and announced his decision to serve as president.

Lorrin Thurston had been sick since the previous evening but on this momentous morning he drafted the proclamation to be used in deposing the queen. By afternoon, the committee members had all gathered, signed the proclamation and were ready to act.

The members of the Committee of Safety, led by Dole, then proceeded to the government building (guarded by U.S. troops across the street) and promptly took over without a struggle. The lengthy proclamation deposing Queen Liliuokalani, dissolving the monarchy, and establishing a provisional government was read on the front steps of the building.

The new government asked at once for recognition from the U.S. minister and before the queen and her armed forces had surrendered, a note from U.S. Minister Stevens to Dole announced that: "A Provisional Government having been duly constituted in the place of the recent government of Queen Liliuokalani and said Provisional Government being in full possession of the government building, the archives and the treasury and in control of the capital of the Hawaiian Islands, I hereby recognize said Provisional Government as the de facto government of the Hawaiian Islands."

By now Provisional Government soldiers had begun to arrive and occupy the buildings and grounds. Martial Law was proclaimed and soon after, Queen Liliuokalani yielded her kingdom to the United States under protest.

The 10 weeks following the revolution of 1893 were filled with "disquieting rumors," according to Dole, involving threats against the new Provisional Government and Dole and his wife were afraid to sleep in their house.

Consequently, on Jan. 31, 1893, the Provisional Government decided "to ask the American minister to afford us protection during the pending (annexation) negotiations."

They asked Stevens to raise the American flag "for the protection of the Hawaiian Islands for the time being" and Stevens didn't hesitate. The next day at 9 in the morning the American flag was raised over the government building and the Provisional Government's volunteer army was replaced by U.S. marines.

In a message sent that day, Feb. 1, 1893, Stevens reported to Secretary of State John W. Foster that "Today at 9 a.m. in

accordance with the request of the Provisional Government in Hawaii I have placed the government of Hawaii under United States protection."

And in a long dispatch sent to Foster that same day, Stevens made his most memorable statement: "The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it."

On Feb. 14, 1893 Foster signed a treaty for annexation with the Provisional Government of Hawaii commissioners sent to Washington two days after the overthrow.

Three weeks later, on March 4, 1893, the Harrison administration was replaced by the Cleveland administration in Washington. The annexation treaty was quickly withdrawn from the Senate "for the purpose of re-examination."

Before any new action was to be taken, President Cleveland and Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham decided to send a special commissioner James H. Blount to Hawaii to examine the causes of the role played by U.S. Minister Stevens.

When Commissioner Blount arrived on March 29, 1893, he discovered the American flag flying and American troops still

stationed on shore. Blount immediately ordered Adm. Skerrett to lower the flag and to return the Marines to their ship.

Blount stayed in Hawaii for four months gathering his information. When completed, the Blount report ran 684 pages long and concluded in part that: "The leaders of the revolutionary movement would not have undertaken it but for Mr. Stevens' promise to protect them against any danger from the government."

After receiving Blount's report, Gresham waited three months before reporting to President Cleveland.

Gresham's report laid much of the blame for the revolution directly on U.S. Minister Stevens, advised the president not to resubmit the annexation treaty and asked: "Should not the great wrong done on a feeble but independent state by an abuse of the authority of the United States be undone by restoring the legitimate government?"

Anything short of that will not, I respectfully submit, satisfy the demands of justice."

—by Wayne K. Westlake, reprint from Star-Bulletin September 1981

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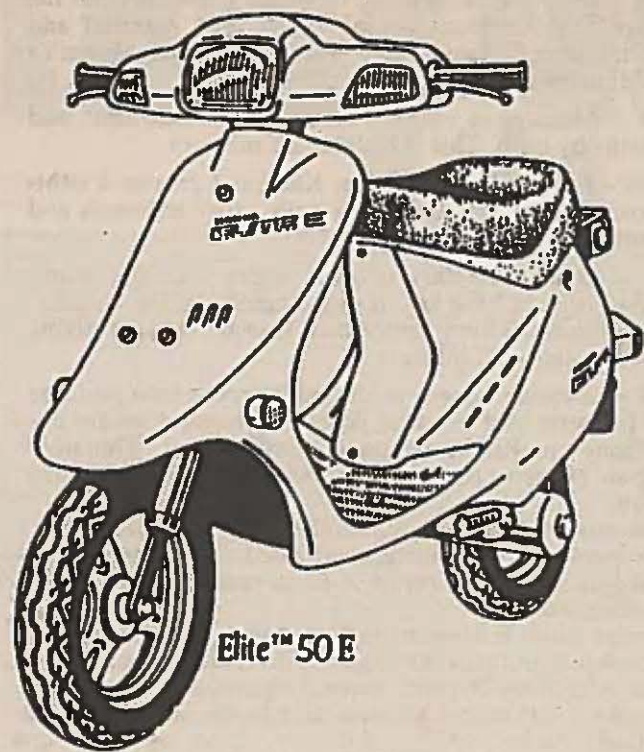
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Events lead to invasion

FROM PAGE 1

a state, then sugar should enter Pacific ports duty-free.

United States issues another unilateral statement of protection rather than a joint declaration with Britain and France of United States guarantee of independence.

- 1856 - Reciprocity Treaty defeated.

U.S. diplomatic representative is now a minister. Seward is secretary of state - since before Civil War, he had been an advocate of annexation.

- 1867 - New Reciprocity Treaty. U.S. ship in harbor, threatening interests of Hawaiians. King forces Reynolds (commander) to withdraw.

President Andrew Johnson states, in support of Reciprocity Treaty, "... a Reciprocity Treaty, while it could not materially diminish the revenues of the United States, would be a guarantee of the goodwill and forbearance of all nations until the people of the islands shall of themselves ... voluntarily apply for admission into the Union."

- 1870 - Reciprocity fails. But before this, Seward considers purchase of Hawai'i. Failure of reciprocity means American planters want annexation.

Henry Pierce, new minister to Hawai'i, writes that a "crisis" is expected when the king dies. When this crisis occurs, "the minister resident of the United States will doubtless become master of the situation."

- 1872 - Kamehameha V dies, Lunalilo ascends. Pierce asks for naval assistance.

- Feb. 15, 1873, Pacific Commercial Advertiser — "... there is unquestionably a large party, responsible in point of wealth and position, that is now openly and earnestly advocating the offering of sovereignty of the country to a foreign power — in short, the annexation of these islands to the United States of America."

- March 18, 1873, Pacific Commercial Advertiser — "Hawaiians are intensely nationalistic and opposed to annexation."

- 1874 - Kalakaua ascends. Fight with Queen Emma supporters. King requests marines. Kalakaua goes to United States and returns with Reciprocity Treaty in January of 1875 (Pearl not ceded until 1887).

American interests dominate. Of the 32 plantations that dominate the economy, 25 are American-owned. Treaty's effect is to boost Hawai'i's economy. Specifically American interests in sugar.

But Native Hawaiians are furious. Between 1877 and 1890, 55,000 new immigrants flood Hawai'i as laborers. Meanwhile, Hawaiian population continues to die-off.

- 1875 - General Schofield, Commander of U.S. Pacific Division, tells Congress: "The Hawaiian Islands constitute the only natural outpost to the defenses of the Pacific Coast. ... The time has come when we must secure forever the desired control over those islands, or let it pass into other hands."

- 1877 - Henry Pierce, minister to Hawai'i, declares that the islands are "an American colony in all their material and political interests." Same year, Pierce becomes Hawai'i's Foreign Minister.

- 1878 - Ministry is entirely American in sentiment and three-fourths by birth. This is Kalakaua's ministry.

- 1880s - Economic crisis. King Kalakaua creates a debt-ridden government. Agitation from both native nationals and haole planters.

- Dec. - Blaine, secretary of state under Garfield, writes Hawai'i had become "the key to the dominion of the Pacific." As far as commercial life is concerned, Hawai'i is "an outlying district of the state of California."

- 1887 - Hawaiian League is formed. Purpose is to push the rights of property and of white people. Foreign rifles are imported. Honolulu Rifles. Bayonet Constitution - Thurston/Dole - et al. Ministry is no longer responsible to king but to Legislature.

Cabinet must approve all acts of the King. \$600 income or \$3,000 property to vote. Suffrage extended to foreigners willing to take an oath. The result is Legislature becomes more haole-dominated.

Foreigners reign. But no suffrage to Asians. Result of Constitution: cabinet and patronage go to Hawaiian League.

Cabinet is held by Reform Party. Organized in Honolulu. Three-hundred Hawaiians, Chinese and Japanese oppose new Constitution.

Votes of foreigners, including the Portuguese, that gave Reform the victory of 1887. Pearl Harbor cession and Reciprocity.

- 1888 - Wilcox thinking of replacing Kalakaua with Lili'uokalani.

Military forces by Law of 1888 are not under Kalakaua's control. Battalions include Honolulu Rifles. Volney Ashford is commander of volunteers. Executive Committee of the Hawaiian League/Reform Party called "Council of 13."

- 1889 - Wilcox-Boyd revolt. Marines again landed. Purpose of revolt was to revise Constitution of 1887 in favor of Constitution of 1864. Hui Kalai'aina formed. Reform Party (haole sugar planters) versus National Reform Party (Native nationalists and some foreign whites opposed to planter aristocracy). National Reform is also opposed to annexation. Stevens becomes U.S. Minister to Hawai'i.

- 1890 - McKinley Tariff becomes law. Missionary gang loses \$5 million - economic depression begins - \$12 million in other values lost.

- 1891 - Cabinet is divided. Ashford is attorney general.

- Jan. 1891 - Queen is installed. Kalakaua dies in California.

Hawaii subjected to illegal acts

The following chronology lists the major U.S. crimes against Hawai'i yet to be redressed by the U.S. government:

- 1893: Illegal U.S.-armed invasion of the kanaka maoli (indigenous people of Hawai'i) — and the theft of Hawai'i's government lands and treasury, violating five bilateral treaties as well as international law. U.S. connivance with insurgent "Provisional Government" is later denounced by U.S. President Grover Cleveland as an "act of war" and a "lawless occupation."

- 1898: Illegal U.S.-forced annexation of independent Hawai'i, without consent of nor compensation to the people, not by treaty or statute, but by a mere joint resolution of Congress. Violates U.S. Constitution and international law. "Ceded land trust" over 2.4 million acres makes the kanaka maoli wards of the United States, and, later, territorial and state governments.

In following years, self-appointed "trustees" cut acreage to 1.4 million and run the "trust" for profit.

- 1921: Illegal U.S.-imposed Hawaiian Homes Commission Act creates "second land trust" of around 200,000 acres. By targeting only those of half or more kanaka maoli ancestry, the U.S. Congress in typical colonial fashion divides Hawaiians.

During the next 70 years, this program will place fewer than 4,000 eligible families on lands mostly lacking water and other infrastructure, leaving 12,000 still waiting at the end of 1991.

- 1941: After Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor the U.S. military proclaims an illegal, unconstitutional state of martial law. Military rule lasts 34 months, deprives Hawaiians of civil rights and transfers 500,000 acres of land, which includes all of Kaho'olawe to permanent military control without restitu-

Royalist leader Robert W. Wilcox, educated in Italy and a student of Garibaldi, was arrested in August 1889, after leading an attempt to restore the Constitution of 1864 and rid Hawai'i of the Bayonet Constitution of 1887, which was forced on Kalakaua by Americans within the Hawaiian government. Wilcox was acquitted. On April 17, 1895, Wilcox and 150 supporters, in an attempt to re-establish the Hawaiian government, surrounded government buildings that had been seized by U.S. troops in 1893.



Bishop Museum

tion.

- 1945: The U.S. breaches Article 73 of the United Nations Charter, which requires self-determination for Hawai'i as a nonself-governing territory. The United States keeps Hawai'i captive as a non-declared, non-self-governing colony instead.

- 1959: The U.S. tries to legalize its compliance with the U.N. Charter by making Hawai'i a state. At the request of the U.S., the U.N. removes Hawai'i from its list of nonself-governing territories.

The kanaka maoli were not asked if they wanted independence or another form of self-governance. Rather, a limited choice between "immediate" statehood and the status quo is presented—to an electorate in which U.S. rule has already reduced them to a small minority. In other words, the U.S. need not stuff the ballot box — it has already stuffed the population.

At the same time, the kanaka maoli are excluded from any acts, laws and statutes, which

recognize Native Americans' right to self-government and control of aboriginal lands.

The illegal U.S.-imposed Statehood Admission Act further dilutes our original exclusive rights to lands stolen in 1893 and 1898. Instead of just one purpose for the "ceded public" lands — "the benefit of the inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands" — the Act defines five purposes, only one of which is "the betterment of native Hawaiians as defined in the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act."

As with annexation, statehood occurred without the consent of, nor compensation to the kanaka maoli.

- 1991: On December 12, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights releases a follow-up to the 1980 report "Breach of Trust? Native Hawaiian Homelands." The report is now titled "A BROKEN TRUST: 70 Years of Failure of the Federal And State Governments to Protect the Civil Rights of Native Hawaiians."

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Self-determination; sovereignty movement goal

Rita Avila Elsasser
Ka Leo Reporter

"And the time is now," was emphatically echoed over and over by a number of speakers at the 16th Sovereign Sunday gathering on the grounds of Iolani Palace.

More than 200 people gathered Jan. 12 at the bandstand to commemorate the 99th anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy.

The all-day event was sponsored by the Pro-Hawaiian Sovereignty Working Group, Ka Pakuakau, and the International Indian Treaty Council.

"We are here to share information and the growing spirit of achieving peace through justice," said coordinator Kawai-puna Perjean.

UH faculty member Dr. Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa opened the festivities with a traditional pule (prayer), and called on Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians to work together to end 100 years of oppression that has plagued the Hawaiian people.



Island entertainers unite for sovereignty.

"Now is the time for us to plan," she said.

"We need the land," she continued. "We don't want it to go to a state agency, or Office of Hawaiian Affairs, or any other organizations; we want it to go to the Hawaiian people."

According to Center for Hawaiian Studies Director Haunani-Kay Trask, although U.S. Sen. Daniel Inouye has recently introduced legislation for sovereignty, the bill does not provide for any land or resources.

"The bill is an empty shell," Trask continued. "The reason that Inouye is even thinking about sovereignty is because we have become a real threat. We want representatives that are elected by Hawaiians, not the Democratic party."

UH student Kaleikoa Ka'eo represented his family and others who are fighting to keep their rights to ancestral homelands in Hana, Maui. It has been recommended that the property be sold to foreign investors.

"No monetary value can

equal the families spiritual relationship to our 'aina," Ka'eo said.

Among the many musicians that came to share their message, Henry Kapon sang his recently released song "Broken Promises", which was inspired by Sonny Kaniho's plight for Hawaiian homelands.

Musician and Director of Alu Like Haunani Apoliona joined members of the sovereignty group Hui Na'auao, to sing "E Mau Ana Ka Ha'aheo" and "Alu Like," songs which voiced the enduring pride of the Hawaiian people and the spirit of working together.

Liz Martin, director of Hui

Na'auao said "It is time to heal the pain and anger we now carry and chart our own course. We have a vision of rights and status as members of a world community." Hui Na'auao, which sees education as the common base, encompasses 40 diverse organizations striving for unity.

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Editorial

Wrongs remembered

"I, Lili'uokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian kingdom Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional government of the Hawaiian kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu, and declared that he would support said Provisional Government.

Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest and impelled by said forces, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative, and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands."

Ninety-nine years after Hawai'i's last monarch, Queen Lili'uokalani, filed her diplomatic protest on Jan. 17 against the military invasion of the nation of Hawai'i, the United States government has yet to "undo the action of its representatives."

While native Hawaiians have continued to protest the overthrow of their sovereign nation, the suppression of their language, their culture, their agricultural livelihood and land rights, the history of the 1893 illegal military coup, itself, continues to be suppressed.

How many Americans are even aware of the history of the annexation and eventual statehood of Hawai'i nei?

To the average American, Hawai'i is viewed not as a conquered nation but an enviable "exotic" vacation spot.

Many dream of living in "paradise," unaware that more than 3,000 native Hawaiian children are homeless and native Hawaiians have come to claim some of the worse health statistics in the United States including the highest rate of cancer.

More Americans need to examine who has benefited from annexation and who has suffered.



Ka Leo O Hawai'i
The Voice of Hawaii

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Judge



UNCLE SAM'S CABIN.

HAWAIIAN TIPS (A MISS COLUMBIA)—"I spect you dunno what to do wif me, Miss 'Phelia. Golly! I've causin' a heap o' trouble!"

Racist cartoons like this one appeared in magazines across the United States during the debates on the overthrow (1893) to the annexation (1898). Generally, Hawaii was caricatured as a female girl or woman of African origin and ex-slave status. Here, Hawaii is portrayed as a servile child, ignorant of her own powers, eager to please her white masters who look upon her with the patronizing racism so familiar to indigenous people the world over.

UN recognizes Hawaiian nation

In recent years, the responsibility of the United States government for the overthrow of the Hawaiian government (1893) and for later annexation (1898) has been intensely debated throughout the Hawaiian community and within the public. Involving issues of nationhood and self-determination, this question brings into focus larger concerns regarding the rights of a people to choose their own government, citizenship and nationality. In the arena of international law, these are classified as human rights.

The body of covenants, resolutions, declarations and conventions which are the basis of international human rights law include: 1) the American Convention on Human Rights (1969) 2) the Universal Declarations of Human Rights (1948) 3) the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights as well as Civil and Political Rights (1966) and 4) the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1963). Other conventions, such as

those prepared within the Council of Europe and within the African States, also from the basis of human rights law as do the legal opinion of human rights scholars and of such bodies as the International Court of Justice.

In terms of political sovereignty, self-determination is seen to guarantee the right to a freely-chosen nationality, including the nationality of indigenous nations. Moreover, the right to a nationality presupposes the right of territorial integrity of any given nation. Under international law, indigenous nations thus have the same right as modern nation-states to the inviolability of their territory. Therefore, discovery, conquest, and unilateral legislation are not legitimate bases for states to claim or retain the territories or natural resources of indigenous peoples.

Integral to the problem of self-determination is the encroachment of governments, including the U.S., on the lands of indigenous people. This has resulted in suffering, disease, moral despair and death for in-

digenous people. From the Brazilian Indians in South America to the Shoshone Indians of North America to the mountain peoples of the Philippines to the aborigines of the Pacific, indigenous communities are threatened by transnational corporations and governments.

Like other indigenous people, Hawaiians are the original inhabitants of their land base. For well over a thousand years prior to European contact, Hawaiians cultivated the land and flourished from its bounty. This history establishes the ancient residency of Hawaiians through continuous precontact use of the land. Under international law, such residency is considered the basis of aboriginal rights, rights which are binding on the member states of the United Nations.

Throughout the 19th century, Hawaiians were governed by Hawaiian ali'i under the Kingdom of Hawaii. As an expression of the right of people to constitute their own nations, the Kingdom of Hawaii enjoyed the internationally recognized

See **ILLEGAL**, Page 7

Illegal overthrow: debate over

FROM PAGE 6

status of a sovereign nation among other nations.

Although the U.S. gave many assurances of respect for Hawaiian sovereignty during the 19th century, the lure of empire was too great for America. The overthrow of the Hawaiian government by American military force, the subsequent diplomatic support given by America to the haole Provisional Government, and the eventual appropriation of Hawaii by the U.S. were the result of America's imperial desire to control lands and peoples not her own. Far from exporting democracy, the U.S. committed, through these acts, undeniable violations of the right to self-determination.

For those unfamiliar with international law, the argument regarding American violations of Hawaiian rights can be simplified as follows: Because Hawaiians were never allowed to choose or reject annexation to the U.S., the continued ownership of Hawaii by America and the continued citizenship of Hawaiians in the U.S. constitute:

1. an arbitrary deprivation of our nationality;
2. an arbitrary deprivation of our lands; and
3. a denial of our rights to self-determination as a people, including aboriginal rights to our lands and natural resources.

These deprivations, as a whole, comprise violations of Articles 15, 17 and 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human rights. In addition, they are violations of Article 1 of both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. And finally, they are violations of the American

Convention on Human Rights.

Since these agreements form the basis of international law, law which the U.S. has promised in writing to uphold, their exact phrasing is worth careful scrutiny.

Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and Article 20 of the American Convention on Human Rights state:

"Everyone has the right to a nationality." "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality."

In the Universal Declaration, Article 17 states:

"No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of property."

In the Universal Declaration, Article 21 states:

"The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures."

In the International Covenants referred to above, the first Article of each is identical:

"All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

In every one of these articles nationality and free choice are central to the human rights under discussion. Regarding the Hawaiian case, it is clear that the human rights of Hawaiians have been and continue to be violated by the U.S. because:

"there is no historical doubt that Hawaiians were barred from voting on the question of annexation and therefore cannot be said to have chosen annexation;" "had Hawaiians been allowed to vote, the estimates of all contemporary observers of the time — from annexationist

leader Lorrin Thurston to Presidential Commissioner James Blount — were that they would have voted overwhelmingly against annexation."

The fact that the overthrow and annexation occurred before international covenants went into effect does not invalidate the Hawaiian case. In the words of human rights scholar, Russell Barsh, "...the ideal of universal self-determination is now a settled principle of peremptory international law, superceding customary rules and bilateral treaties. ... This means. ... it is of sufficient importance to be applied retroactively to relationships among states and people before the adoption of the (1948 United Nations) Charter."

The condition of arbitrary nationality, deprivation of property and resources and deprivation of self-governance is not unique to Hawaiians but is, rather, the shared condition of most other indigenous in the world. Its commonality, however, does not render it just.

Finally, the willingness of international bodies, like the United Nations, to acknowledge the just demands of Hawaiians for control over their lands and culture should come as welcome news to those people in Hawaii — native and non-native alike — who express a belief in human rights. It remains to be seen, however, whether the U.S. and the state of Hawaii will continue to refuse Hawaiians the full exercise and enjoyment of those rights.

Self-determination became a principle of international law after World War II demonstrated that international peace depended on the emancipation of colonies, peoples and other ethnic populations. Thus the United Nations Charter (1948) enshrined the right of universal self-determination specifically to help ensure world peace.



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Hawaiians want self-determination

Although constituted in the 19th century as an internationally recognized nation (the kingdom of Hawaii), the Hawaiian people had their nationality forcibly changed to that of the United States when their land base was annexed in 1898. All lands taken by the United States at annexation were illegally transferred by the Republic of Hawaii which was itself illegally established and illegally maintained by the United States as a convenient, haole-controlled client state. The illegality of these acts stems from the lack of Hawaiian consent to them.

Since Hawaiians never surrendered their political rights through treaties, nor voted on annexation, they fall under the United Nations category of a "non-self-governing people."

As a "non-self-governing people," Hawaiians occupy a category recognized by the United Nations as eligible for the right of self-determination. But this right is continually denied to Hawaiians for several reasons.

First, is the claim that Hawaiians are the same as immigrants to Hawaii. Apart from denying Hawaiians their in-

digenous history, this position also equates voluntary status (immigrants) with involuntary status (a forced change in nationality).

Secondly, there is the allegation that Hawaiians are "equal" to other Americans since Hawaiians have "their own state" and are American citizens. Both of these points are irrelevant here because Hawaiians never were members of America until they were forcibly annexed. When American citizenship was conferred on Hawaiians, it was done so unilaterally; that is, without Hawaiian consent. Statehood was a condition which came long after annexation, not prior to it. For Hawaiians, the fiction of "equality as Americans" obscures the historical reality that America has no claim — except one based on aggression — to control the lands and native people of Hawaii.

A third argument for the continued denial of Hawaiian self-determination is the notion of "prescription." Here, a right peacefully exercised for a long time can no longer be questioned. Prescription has sometimes been advanced by colonial powers, like the United States,

as a source of legal title to overseas possessions, like Hawaii.

In the first place, it should be pointed out that, contrary to popular opinion, Hawaii has not been controlled by America for "a long time." It is, in 1984, less than 100 years since Hawaiians lived in their own country. When compared with Hawaiian self-governance for nearly 2,000 years prior to annexation, the 86 years of American control is paltry indeed.

Finally, there is the argument that America and the American way-of-life are superior to native countries and native ways of life. This argument is constantly advanced to justify the American annexation of Hawaii and continued American control over native resources and people. Interestingly, it is also an argument with a rich and revealing history: throughout the 19th century American proponents of slavery advanced it to claim that blacks were better-off as slaves in "civilized" America than as free people in "primitive" Africa.

In the context of international law, the continued American claim to political and cultural superiority is seen as merely the ideology of a colonizing power. This ideology has been condemned by the United Nations as being wholly unacceptable in relationships between peoples and states. Because the American government persists today in its justification of the overthrow and of forcible annexation (see Vol. 1 of the Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report, 1983), it is in violation of international norms of human rights. These rights include self-determination and ter-

"The purposes of offensive action are threefold: they awaken both Hawaiians and the general public to Hawaiian problems; they assert rights through direct actions against abuse or in support of cultural practices; and they reinforce the practice of self-determination."

ritorial integrity for indigenous people—rights which, not incidentally, the United States accuses the Soviet Union of violating in Afghanistan and elsewhere.

The problem for Hawaiians, then, is how to proceed politically to achieve an independent land base. Several suggestions have been put forward by various movement leaders and organizations which can be grouped under the following strategies: active education of Hawaiians about their history and native rights, and about the need for a land base; litigation against the state and federal governments for abuses of trust lands and for reparations; offensive political demonstrations such as land seizures, illegal protests at restricted places and disruptions of institutional activity; offensive cultural actions such as religious worship on sacred sites closed to such worship, the construction of fishing villages and taro patches on lands scheduled for other economic activity and the disruption of tourist attractions which commodify and degrade Hawaiian culture. The purposes of offensive action are threefold: they awaken both Hawaiians and the general public to Hawaiian problems; they assert

rights through direct actions against abuse or in support of cultural practices; and they reinforce the practice of self-determination.

Finally, theoretical enunciations of self-determination include arguments for the alternative of Aloha 'Aina in opposition to resort development, industrial parks, upper-income residential subdivisions and military use. Arguments for restitution and for international adjudication of the territorial conflict between Hawaiians and the state and federal governments are also examples of the sovereignty question in theoretical form.

In the ongoing assertions by Hawaiians of their native rights to land and culture, several realities need to be kept in mind by the public. The call for separatism by many Hawaiians is a call for the internationally-recognized right of a people to govern themselves.

Separate, land-based units now exist under American law for the use of Hawaiians. These units, along with any land and monies from American reparations for the overthrow, are sufficient to anchor a form of Hawaiian self-government. Because these lands have been and continue to be abused by the state and federal governments, there is a historical reason to transfer their control to Hawaiians. But the primary reason for transfer of control is the inherent right of self-determination for all people.

In 1987, Ka Lahui Hawaii was formed as a native initiative for self-government. With a constitution, island organizations and executive and legislative branches, Ka Lahui has taken the lead in the current movement for Hawaiian sovereignty. Nearly 10,000 citizens have been enrolled to the nation, suggesting that Ka Lahui has out-organized the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, which was created as a state agency and which remains so today.

The alternative of Ka Lahui Hawaii calls Hawaiians out of an oppressed past into a liberated future. It is the promise of this future that keeps every new generation of independent Hawaiians set on the path of self-determination.

—Hauani-Kay Trask is Director of the University of Hawaii's Center for Hawaiian Studies

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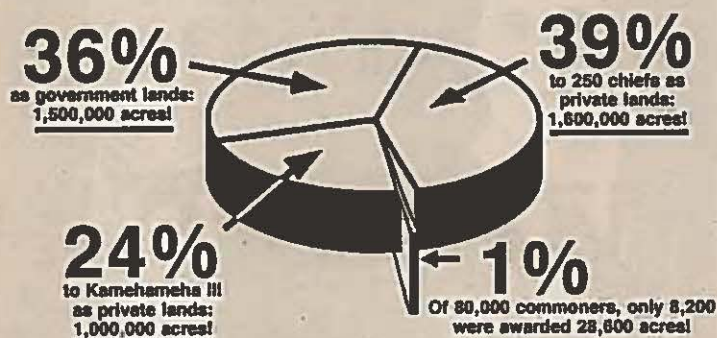


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Professor justifies native anger

the 1848 Mahele (land grab)



The Mahele converted all Hawai'i 'ohana lands into the private property of a few chiefs and a government controlled by them and their haole advisers!

photo credit Ka Leo graphic/Ka Leo

The Great Mahele, served to change large amounts of Hawaiian lands into private ownership, was engineered by chief architect, Gerrit P. Judd, founder of Punahou Schools.

It is well-known that Hawaiians have been and still are among the most generous, sharing and hospitable people in the world. From the very beginning visitors to Hawai'i recorded these positive qualities as the foremost characteristics of the Hawaiian people.

Today the tourist industry makes millions on "Hawaiian Hospitality."

In exchange for their generous hospitality, Hawaiians have experienced more than two centuries of racism and exploitation. The prime proponents of racism and the people who have gained the most — land, power and wealth — have been non-Hawaiians. They have benefited as a result of their exploitation

of Hawaiians and the resources of the islands.

Early in their experiences with Europeans and Americans, Hawaiians were cheated and slaughtered by foreigners or haoles at Waimea, Kaua'i, Kealahou, Hawai'i and Olowalu, Maui, to name a few places where Hawaiians were killed.

The first time Captain James Cook's men landed at Waimea, they killed a Hawaiian. At Kealahou, Cook was discovered trying to take Kalaniopu'u, high chief of Hawai'i island, hostage and for that Cook was killed by Hawaiians who were trying to protect their chief.

In retaliation for Cook's

death, his men opened fire on the Hawaiians at the shore. From the safety of their ships, they shelled the village with their cannon and burned down about 60 houses. They killed about 100 Hawaiians including about 30 chiefs. To intimidate Hawaiians, Cook's men cut off the heads of some of the Hawaiians and fixed them on poles for all to see. The white man's burden was heavy indeed.

Greed for profits made by the sandalwood traders and others functioned over time to destroy the traditional Hawaiian social system. Unscrupulous traders manipulated unsuspecting Hawaiian chiefs for their own purposes.

Missionaries declared that theirs was the only true God. They condemned the Hawaiians as being infidels and idolaters. They threatened Hawaiians with the fire and brimstone of hell if they did not give up their beliefs in their native gods.

They worked to have the Hawaiian hula outlawed as lascivious, and in general, they denigrated Hawaiian culture. They did all this while the United States was still at least four decades and a terrible war away from ending slavery within its own borders.

In the 1820s, '30s, and '40s, gunboats from other countries constantly threatened to take over the only homeland of Hawaiians — 52 gunboats came between 1824 and 1844. Captains of the warships falsely claimed that Hawaiians owed traders hundreds of thousands of dollars in unpaid sandalwood and they demanded immediate payment.

Non-Hawaiian traders were

See MAHELE, Page 10

GIVE PEACE A REAL CHANCE: "I fear that the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today is my own government." . . . Martin Luther King Jr. from his speech A Time to Break Silence at Riverside Church, N.Y.C. on 4/4/67.

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Mahele leads to Hawaiian homelessness

FROM PAGE 9

so anxious to get the sandalwood that they took the signatures of chiefs on promises to pay in the future. The traders knew they could call on their countries warships to threaten the Hawaiians and force them to pay these inflated debts.

The chiefs on their part were forced to order their people to cut, collect and haul the sandalwood down from the mountains to the waiting ships of the traders and merchants.

Fearful that they might some day lose their country forever to the foreign gunboats, the Hawaiian chiefs called upon their "friends," the New England missionaries to help them deal with the aggressive foreigners. These "friends" wrote the western-type laws of the 1840s and 1850s.

The land laws that they wrote changed the Hawaiian system of land-use rights for all Hawaiian farmers into the western system of exclusive private ownership of the land. In the process more than 70 percent of the Hawaiian people became landless. Not only did they have their traditional lands taken from them but they were also denied their traditional rights to other neces-

sary resources.

These same laws opened the doors for non-Hawaiians with money to purchase land and become major private landowners. The names of some are found today in the names of corporations that are among the 72 largest landowners. They own about 95 percent of all the privately owned land in Hawai'i today.

Many of the non-Hawaiians who have purchased land in those early years also evicted Hawaiian tenant farmers from their traditional house lots and garden parcels. No laws protected the Hawaiian farmers from these evictions.

Hawaiians had other ways of losing their subsistence, such as being forced to give up their traditional lands, even after the land had been given to them. Roaming cattle from non-Hawaiian-owned ranches consumed the crops of many Hawaiian farmers, forcing Hawaiians to leave their farms.

Evicted homeless Hawaiians became victims of a law requiring the homeless to be jailed as vagrants and forced to work on the roads, used mainly by the non-Hawaiian-owned sugar cane plantations.

For the relatively few

Hawaiian farmers who were awarded their traditional house lots and gardens as a result of the Mahele of 1848, and the Kuleana Act of 1850, new laws were written requiring the kuleana awardees to pay money taxes on their land. The land awarded to a farmer consisted usually of a house lot and only the cultivated gardens from which he fed his family.

If a Hawaiian farmer claimed any land on which he raised a crop for market, this land was not awarded.

How then could Hawaiians earn dollars to pay these money land taxes? They could go to sea as sailors — leave their country and families for months at a time, which hundreds of Hawaiians did.

What other options did Hawaiians have to get dollars to pay the land taxes? If they did manage to grow a crop or to catch fish that they could bring to market, a license to sell would cost anywhere from \$25 to \$100, with fines up to \$500 for anyone who was caught selling without one.

There was another option. The independent Hawaiian farmer could leave his land in the country, go to a distant urban center and try to get a job working for someone else, usually a foreigner. Handling freight, driving a wagon, anything that might help get money so he could keep his land was his objective.

Hawaiians might have managed to pay his taxes, yes, but, years later, when they could no longer work, they could not return to the land that was once theirs. Their houses were gone, their neighbors were gone and their land was somewhere in the



Bishop Museum

Writer-historian Laura Fish and Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, physician and member of the third company of missionaries, arrived in Honolulu March 30, 1828. By April 1842, he severed his connection with the mission and took a job with the Hawaiian Government as official translator and recorder. In 1843, he became secretary of state for foreign affairs and in 1845 he was appointed minister of interior.

middle of a large sugar cane field; lost forever.

Laws written by non-Hawaiian lawyers set up the process by which land could be stolen legally, even while the rightful owner kept paying taxes year after year. Those laws are still on the books today and lands are still being alienated in this way. Adverse possession is the name of the game.

A last option might have been to work for the sugar plantation owners. And who are they? As they say, it takes money to get money and it was the foreigners, the non-Hawaiians who came with money to invest in sugar plantations for the purpose of making more money. Until the non-Hawaiian bosses could import workers from foreign countries, they hired Hawaiians for cheap labor.

Hawaiian men and women worked for the sugar plantations early on. After the 1850s, the sugar barons began importing foreign workers, first by the hundreds and then by the thousands. At first a five-year contract paid \$3 a month, and later a three-year contract paid \$5 a month. Soon Hawaiians were replaced by the immigrant labor.

With all these negative experiences coming down on the Hawaiian farmers, the wellspring of goodwill toward foreigners began to dry up. There is much evidence of this in letters and petitions to the government buried in the Hawaii State Archives.

• **Bayonet Constitution** — In 1887, the Americans forced the Hawaiian government to adopt what is known as the Bayonet Constitution which disenfranchised most Hawaiians. In order to vote for or hold office in the upper house of the Hawaiian legislature, a person had to own property worth \$3,000 over and above all encumbrances, or have an annual income of not less than \$600.

• **1893 Military Junta** — With the help of the U.S. Military, a group of Americans took over the government of the Hawaiian Islands in 1893. The burning loyalty Hawaiians had for their queen and anger over the treachery of the Americans was recorded in the song Kaulana Na Pua. It sings of the "evil-hearted messenger" with his greedy document of extortion.

As events unfolded in the next few years the American-backed, illegal Dole government took over all the Crown Lands and the Hawaiian Government lands and began selling them off. The foreigners bought thousands of acres of Hawaiian land.

• **Illegal Annexation of a Nation** — In 1898, when the United States took over the Hawaiian Islands as a Territory, the illegal Dole government ceded all the unsold Crown and Government lands to the United States. Today, Hawaiians who know, see this as an unforgivable insult.

Hawai'i was turned over to the United States without the consent of the Hawaiian people — no one bothered to ask the Hawaiians what they wanted. When the Hawaiians elected their first delegate to congress, the winner was the self-proclaimed Hawaiian revolutionary, Robert Wilcox, who ran as a candidate of the Home Rule Party. This alerted the sugar plantation owners and they made certain that Wilcox never got a second term.

• **Suppressing Hawaiian History** — This part of Hawaiian history was not and still is not taught in the public schools. Most of the population, including Hawaiians, are unaware of how Hawaiians had their lands taken from them, their population reduced to a small fraction of its original numbers or how they were forced to depend on the wealthy foreigners for a living.

Neither was this history taught at the University of Hawai'i until very recently.

Students of Hawaiian history must dig hard and deep to discover the truth. And when they do, they discover the events that produced the great tragedy of a culture lost, a language lost and a nation stolen. Throughout

See OVERTHROW, Page 11

"Laws written by haole lawyers set up the process by which land could be stolen, legally, even while the rightful owner kept paying taxes year after year. Those laws are still on the books today and lands are still being alienated in this way."



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Overthrow left out of American history

FROM PAGE 10

their efforts this tragic history has been revealed.

With the Center for Hawaiian Studies at the university firmly established, and with its strong leadership, more people have not only learned the history of the role of the foreigners in Hawai'i, they are also beginning to speak up against this anti-Hawaiian racism.

• 1992 — Today, more Hawaiians are angry and frustrated by the fact that the primary perpetrators of this racism against Hawaiians have failed to admit any wrongdoing and refused to recognize the racism they continue to practice.

When a knowledgeable Hawaiian brings racist non-Hawaiian behavior to their attention, they not only deny it, but they turn it around and accuse Hawaiians of racism.

They refuse to hear the message; they are so threatened by being revealed for what they are, they want the messenger shot. The injustice of this behavior on the part of the perpetrators of institutional racism causes great frustration and anger among Hawaiians — and many non-Hawaiians, also.

Those whose culture is non-Hawaiian, or who choose to emulate non-Hawaiian culture, must learn the history behind Hawaiian anger, recognize it for

Analysis

what it is and go on from there. We are obligated to share with others, Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian, what we have learned.

Hawaiians who have had time to learn this history and to absorb its meaning must be encouraged to take a leadership role. And we non-Hawaiians must let Hawaiians do this. We must not continue to bear the "white man's burden."

It was not very long ago that young Hawaiians were ashamed to admit they were Hawaiian. They had been brainwashed in our educational system to believe that merely being Hawaiian was bad.

Students in classes at the university say that when they were younger they avoided, whenever possible, admitting that they were Hawaiian. This is not the situation today and it need never be again. But it is not only Hawaiians that must take steps to eradicate this unhealthy condition.

I would like to suggest that the university sponsor forums and lectures on racism. Have guest speakers from other countries, from our own communities and from native American nations and tribes.

It is important for our stu-



State Archives

Queen Lili'uokalani was charged with treason and placed under house arrest by Sanford Dole's government. She was confined for more than six months in an upper room of 'Iolani Palace, beginning mid-January 1895. An attempt on the part of the queen's supporters to restore Hawaiian sovereignty was made under the leadership of Robert W. Wilcox. Lili'uokalani was accused of instigating the rebellion.

dents to know something about what other minorities have experienced as a result of racism and exploitation of their people and their countries. We need very much to talk about racism, get it out in the open and investigate its history, the forms it takes, and how to rid ourselves

of it.

The thing we must avoid more than anything else is covering it up. We must not outlaw discussion and open forum, or shoot the messenger who brings the bad news that there is blatant racism on the university campus. We need to face this

challenge as intelligent social scientists who are aware of the consequences of perpetrating racism.

— Marion Kelly is an anthropologist and assistant professor in the UH Ethnic Studies Program.

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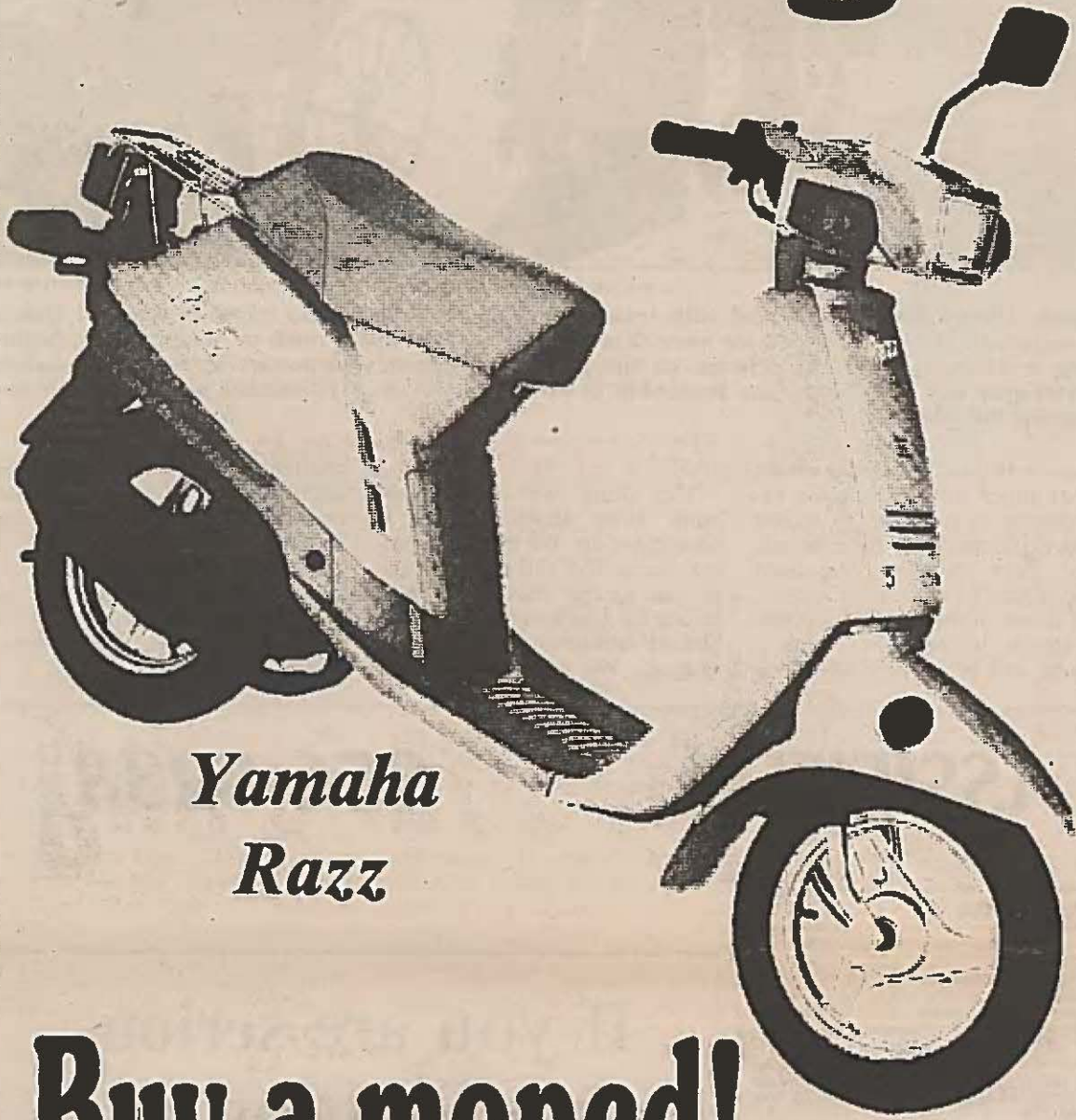
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Sovereignty explained; Hawaii's present, past

Sovereignty is the right possessed by a culturally distinct people, inhabiting and controlling a definable territory, to make all decisions regarding itself and its territory free from outside interference.

It is what native Hawaiians enjoyed under their own culture and constitution before armed U.S. intervention brought about the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893.

Today, it means the separate management of their own lives through independent institutions.

Sovereignty is not something that can be given to Hawaiians. They cannot receive sovereignty — they can only assert it, or give it up.

If native Hawaiians agreed to be "beneficiaries (wards) under a fiduciary trust" it would mean they accept the continued authority of state and federal governments over them.

It would also undermine their assertion of sovereignty under international law.

Have native Hawaiians lost their sovereignty?

Native Hawaiians have never voluntarily surrendered their sovereignty. They were never al-

lowed to vote on the republic or annexation, and had no chance to vote separately on statehood.

Sovereignty is recognized when nations of the world accept the fact that a people make their own decisions and refuse to allow others to decide their fate for them.

Politically, Hawaiians can achieve recognition of our sovereignty by:

- occupying lands that rightfully and historically belong to them.

- rejecting bills in the legislature and congress which are not approved by our Hawaiians.

- opposing the destruction of our forests and the desecration of Pele, Kaho'olawe, and the bones of our ancestors.

Legally, native Hawaiians can achieve recognition of sovereignty by gaining international recognition of their right to decolonization under the U.N. and/or rights as an indigenous people to have a land base and sufficient resources to maintain our culture, language and religion.

This will bring pressure to bear upon the U.S. government to recognize Hawaiian sovereignty.

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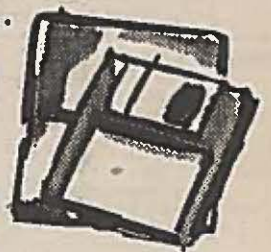
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